

*COLLIGITE FRAGMENTA:*  
A NEGLECTED *TUMULUS* FOR  
JUAN LUIS VIVES (1492–1540)

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A long overlooked mid-sixteenth-century Latin manuscript (Berlin, SPK, Ms. lat. fol. 390) has preserved a number of epitaphs composed by Neo-Latin poets from the Low Countries in praise of the recently deceased humanist J. L. Vives. These poems supplement another, printed, collection that has been edited and studied in recent years. The manuscript not only contains previously unknown verses, but also substantial variants for a number of poems from the printed edition. New poems and variant readings are edited here for the first time. Other texts copied in the same manuscript are listed for further research into the collection and its origin.

*A Valencian in Bruges*

Juan Luis Vives was born in Valencia in 1492 or 1493, the eldest of five children of a well-to-do family of intellectuals. His ancestors on both his father's and his mother's side were Jews who, at a certain stage, had converted to Catholicism. Nevertheless, these *marranos* were looked upon with suspicious eyes. In 1509 Vives went to study at the Sorbonne (Paris). When in 1512 the relations between Spain and France became increasingly troubled, he preferred a safer harbour in the Low Countries and set off to Bruges, a city hosting a large group of merchants from Aragon and Catalonia, most of them of Jewish origin. He would never return to his native country and spent the major part of his adult life in the Spanish Netherlands. He met Erasmus at the court of the young Charles V in 1516 and later in Leuven, after he had become the private tutor of Cardinal William of Croÿ, the archbishop of Toledo. He taught at Leuven University, where he was introduced to Adrian of Utrecht, the future Pope Adrian VI.

At the start of 1521 he devoted himself, at Erasmus's request, to a commentary on one of St Augustine's major works, the *De civitate Dei*. After

a long sojourn in Bruges to recover from a serious illness, he became acquainted with Thomas More and Cardinal Wolsey. The latter granted him the chair of Greek at Corpus Christi in Oxford University and probably recommended him to King Henry VIII and his wife, Catherine of Aragon. After having finished his treatise *De institutione feminae Christianae* (1524), which he dedicated to the queen of England, Vives returned to Bruges and married Margarita, the daughter of the merchant Bernardo Valdaura, at whose home he had often stayed during his frequent visits to Bruges, and who shared with the now well-esteemed humanist his place of birth and his *marrano* background. At the request of Lodewijk van Praet, Grand Bailli of Bruges, Vives wrote a treatise on the relief of the poor, *De subventionem pauperum* (published 1526), which he dedicated to the burgomasters and the Council of Bruges.

In the following years, Vives would regularly return to England, until his contacts, first with King Henry and after a few months also with the spouse the King wanted to divorce, came to an end in 1528. The final twelve years of his life, devoted almost entirely to studying and writing, were mainly spent in Bruges, where Vives wrote an impressive series of political and philosophical treatises, notably his major work *De disciplinis* (published at Antwerp in 1531). Vives died in Bruges on 6 May 1540, Ascension Day, not yet fully 48 years old. He was buried in St Donatian's, the main church of his adoptive home town.<sup>1</sup> His tomb was adorned with the following epitaph:

*Hier is begraven meester Jan Ludovicus Vives  
Geboren van Valencia in Spagnien  
Hie overleet anno MDXL, den VI in meye.*

Here is buried Master Juan Ludovicus Vives,  
Born in Valencia in Spain  
He died in the year 1540, on the sixth of May.

Vives was a very private man, who lived quietly with his family, and who devoted himself fully to the writing of his treatises. The correspondence with his faithful friend Franciscus Craneveldius is a mirror of his life as a private scholar. Although he had spent some periods at the courts of kings and prel-

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<sup>1</sup> In 1559, when the diocese of Bruges was founded, the collegiate church of St Donatian's became a cathedral until the end of the Ancien Régime (1795). In 1799 the church buildings were auctioned off and completely demolished in the following years.

ates, Vives never was a Renaissance courtier. Unlike Erasmus, he was never keen to collect new friends or patrons. But he was admired and loved by a small circle of Flemish humanists.

### *Mourning Poems for a Prose Writer*

Vives was a prose writer par excellence. Yet, even he was surrounded by poetry. Latin verses accompanied his first publications, and Latin verses were written at his death by mourning friends in Bruges and all over humanist Europe.<sup>2</sup> At the end of 1544 Anthony van Schoonhove published the collected Latin verses of his friend Stephanus Comes Bellocassius, who had suddenly died in the summer of that year. To the small collection *Sylvula carminum, non minus docta quam iucunda* (Bruges: Robert Wouters and Erasmus van der Eecke) he added a series of epitaphs (*cum nonnullis epitaphiis Marci Laurini & Iohannis Lodovici Vivis*) composed by friends from Bruges on the occasion of the recent deaths of Marcus Laurinus (1488–1540) and Juan Luis Vives (1492–1540). The booklet of only 24 leaves was known to historians of Low Countries humanism from a single copy in Ghent University Library (Res. 435). That copy, however, was incomplete (only 16 leaves) and lacked the Laurinus and Vives section announced on its title page.<sup>3</sup> In 1996 the Leuven scholar Gilbert Tournoy edited the epitaph section from a complete copy in the British Library.<sup>4</sup>

Another *Tumulus* of Vives, however, has until now been lying unstudied among the manuscript treasures of the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. It not only includes eight of the poems from the 1544 *Sylvula carminum*, but also adds six previously unrecorded Latin poems (including one by Jacobus Meyerus) and a Greek one.<sup>5</sup> Eight poems, two of which only consist of a single distich,

<sup>2</sup> De Schepper, "April in Paris (1514)," 202; Tournoy, "An Unnoticed Bruges Collection," and "Scattered Latin Poems."

<sup>3</sup> Tournoy, "Bruges Collection," 162–165. The most famous poem of Comes, on music, is discussed by Schiltz, "Vulgari orecchie," 211.

<sup>4</sup> Shelf mark 11403.aa.19. Recently another complete copy in York Minster Library, shelf mark XV.N.27 (5), was listed by Pettegree and Walsby, *Netherlandish Books*, no. 8651. They also refer to a fourth copy of the booklet, supposedly kept at the Royal Library in Brussels, but there is, alas, no evidence of the existence of this copy.

<sup>5</sup> After his retirement in 1983 the Leuven professor of Arabic and Syriac Albert Van Roey (1915–2000; see Gillis, "Albert Van Roey") began collecting materials for a monograph on his sixteenth-century predecessor Andreas Masius (1514–73). He was aware of

are at present only recorded in the printed volume of 1544 (and edited since by G. Tournoy).

But undoubtedly, a number of Vives's friends and acquaintances with humanist aspirations must also have commemorated him by appending epitaphs written on slips of paper to his tomb. Renaissance biographical literature and funerary descriptions provide enough source material to suggest that the practice of honouring important political and cultural persons in such a way already existed in the Italian Trecento and was spread together with humanism throughout Western Europe. These rituals formed the basis for collections of epitaphs, often indicated by the title *Tumulus* or *Lacrimae*, circulating first in manuscript form and later, by the sixteenth century, also in printed form.<sup>6</sup>

In the case of Vives, some of the appended poems were indeed selected for printing, whereas the scribes of the Berlin manuscript made their own selection. One poem in the collection of the Berlin manuscript offers a clear proof that Vives had been honoured in such a way. It is no. 14 in our collection, whose author, rather than singing Vives's praise, lashes out "Against a fool who kept lying that he had one of his verses among the epitaphs, which were anonymously affixed." Poem no. 5, in which the poet has Vives complaining against impertinent verse mongers, probably also alludes to this practice.

In general, the poems of the Berlin manuscript present an interesting mixture of references to antiquity, in tribute to Vives's feats, and expressions of Christian belief. Most of the authors use words and metaphors which frequently occur in Greek and Latin poetry, or refer to the ancient gods. Nos. 7 and 11 follow a topos in ancient funerary poetry by having the tombstone address an ignorant passer-by, asking him to check his step for a moment in order to learn more about the deceased. Another theme, borrowed from antiquity, is that there is no reason for mourning and wailing: in death the

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the Berlin Masius manuscripts and had ordered photographic reproductions of many parts of their content. Some years before his death he entrusted photos of humanist documents to Dr. J. De Landsheer with the advice to study and edit some of the texts. The present authors are proud to be able to edit the Vives epitaphs included in it in honour of Dr. Charles Fantazzi, their 'companion to Vives.' At the same time they offer this edition to the memory of Dr. Constant Mattheeussen (1944–2002), founder of the *Selected Works of J. L. Vives*, and a dear friend of Dr. Fantazzi and of the present authors.

<sup>6</sup> See on this subject Maia Gahtan's article, "Appended Epitaphs," forthcoming in the *Acta* of the 15th Congress of the International Association for Neo-Latin Studies held in Münster, 2012. The author kindly sent us the text of her paper.

soul is finally freed from the body; death only affects the body, whereas the mind and its realisations will continue to live (as will one's reputation, which is immortal). In Christian terms this becomes the affirmation that death is merely a transition towards eternal life. Accordingly, the hyperbole that Vives is now living among the stars or the gods is reinforced by the assertion that dying on Ascension Day, he accompanied Christ into heaven. Of course, the name Vives was too obvious an invitation not to play on its literal interpretation "you will live," topped by the adverb "forever" or "eternally."

A more profane topos is that death is inescapable (in nos. 3, 6, and 7). By recalling a number of famous poets, philosophers and orators from antiquity as his predecessors, the author of no. 3 implies that Vives not only had to submit to the same fate, but also that he deserves to be reckoned among their number. The hyperbole becomes even stronger by the author's reference to two equally famous contemporaries, who had died shortly before: Erasmus and Thomas More. Finally, some specific biographical details can be found as well: his native country (nos. 8, 10, 15), the fact that he succumbed to an attack of gout and fever (nos. 3, 6, 7, 12), his friendship with Erasmus and More, his age, and the day of his death (nos. 7, 8, 15). Vives is praised as a poet (to be interpreted in the sense of 'humanist' rather than as 'a writer of verse'), a philosopher, a skilled orator (probably not only in the sense of a fluent speaker, but also with the moral implication it receives in Cicero's *De oratore*), and a man who is familiar with the interpretation of the Bible (cf. nos. 2, 7, 8, 10, 11, and 15).

*The Manuscript: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Stiftung Preußischer  
Kulturbesitz, Ms. lat. fol. 390*

In the early nineteenth century, the manuscript keepers of the Royal Library in Berlin started a systematic cataloguing project, intended to open up its rich collections for scholarly research. In the years 1825–27 they put together a *Sammelband* that included a large part of the 'Nachlass' of the Brabant humanist Andreas Masius (1514–73).<sup>7</sup> This volume contains a wide variety of manuscript texts copied or collected by Masius. In 1857 Karl Pertz (1828–81) had some similar or related manuscript quires or leaves earlier kept in 'Kapsel

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<sup>7</sup> Rose, *Verzeichniss*, 1373a, no. 91 (lat. fol. 241). On Masius, a pioneer of the study of Syriac, see Lossen, *Briefe*; De Vocht, "Andreas Masius;" and François, "Andreas Masius" 2009 and 2010.

fol. 238' bound in a smaller volume.<sup>8</sup> The two volumes were later catalogued as Ms. lat. fol. 241 and lat. fol. 390, and listed as numbers 91 and 92 in the 1905 inventory by Valentin Rose (1829–1916).<sup>9</sup> The smaller volume (lat. fol. 390) hardly attracted any attention. It was briefly listed by Paul Oskar Kristeller (1905–99) in the German part of his *Iter Italicum*.<sup>10</sup>

Contents:

- f. 1: small slip of paper (c. 6.5 x 15 cm)
- f. 1r: 4 Leonine hexameters (hand of Andreas Masius according to V. Rose and P. O. Kristeller):

Qui faciendo moram prandendi negligit horam  
aut male prandebit vel sedis honore carebit.  
Esca datur gratis, vinum mos est ut ematis.  
Qui negat hunc morem, fontis bibat ille liquorem.

2 [[aut]] vel                      3 [[moris]] mos

Lines 1–2 and 3–4 are well-known medieval Latin verses.<sup>11</sup>

Who keeps delaying, disregarding dinner time,  
Will eat badly or lose the seat of honour.  
Food is free, but wine must be paid for, as usual.  
Who does not abide by this rule, let him drink spring water.

- f. 1v: blank
- f. 2–13: 3 quires (c. 15.5 x 15.5 cm): A = f. 2r–5v (4 ff.), B = f. 6r–7v (2 ff.), C = f. 8r–9v (6 ff.)
- f. 2r–4v: collection of ten poems in various metres commemorating Vives (written in one hand, but not that of Masius; many printed in 1544 and edited in 1996)
- f. 5r–v: blank

<sup>8</sup> Rose, 1375a, no. 92 (lat. fol. 390).

<sup>9</sup> Rose, 1373–75, and 1397b, no. 154 (lat. fol. 238).

<sup>10</sup> Kristeller, *Iter*, 3:474.

<sup>11</sup> Singer, *Thesaurus*, 3:93, and 11:446; Walther, *Proverbia*, 4:24067, and 1:7193.

- f. 6r–7r: poem, *In perfidiam regis Gallorum* (different hand; text unidentified); the verso side is blank but for a title, *Carmina quaedam*
- f. 8r–9v: poem, *Hannibalis ex Italia in Aphricam revocati querimonia* (same hand as f. 6r–7r; text unidentified)
- f. 10r–11r: collection of poems in various metres commemorating Vives (one hand, not that of Masius, and not identical with that of f. 2r–4v or 6r–9v; no tradition in print); f. 11v is blank
- f. 12r–v: poem: *In fastosos divites* (another hand; text unidentified)
- f. 13r: poem, *De vita humana ad amicum* (same hand as f. 12r–v; text unidentified); the verso side is blank.
- f. 14: 1 leaf (c. 21 x 13 cm) with a poem on f. 14r. inc.: *Rogabat lacrymis Dromo sophista* (another hand). In fact, a poem by Juan Páez de Castro (c. 1512–70), historiographer of Charles V, confessor to Philip II, and founder of the library at El Escorial.<sup>12</sup> The verso is blank.
- f. 15–16: bifolium (? , at one time cut into two leaves, and later stuck together in the binding; f. 15: c. 28.5 x 17 cm; f. 16: c. 34 x 23.5; dimensions differ because the blank fore-edge and bottom margins of f. 15 were cut off at some stage). On f. 15r–16r: Latin and Greek verses on Pietro Bembo (1470–1547) by Marcus Antonius Flaminius (1497/98–1550) and an anonymous author (hand of Masius). The verso side is blank but for a title, *Carmina 2 [?] Gansii et alia*, difficult to read, cf. Rose, 1375.

### *Editorial Techniques of the Vives Poems*

For the edition we followed the principles adopted in the series *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae*.<sup>13</sup> Thus, we reproduce the Latin such as it appears in the manuscript, albeit with the following exceptions:

- \* *e*, *ae*, *oe* are adapted to modern usage
- \* *j* is changed into *i*
- \* the modern distinction between *u* and *v* is maintained
- \* punctuation and the use of capitals are adapted to modern usage
- \* single square brackets indicate solved abbreviations
- \* an obelized word means that it was only partly legible

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<sup>12</sup> Alcina, *Repertorio*, 156–160 no. 328, esp. p. 159.

<sup>13</sup> See *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae*, Pars I: 1564–83, 16–18.

When a poem has no title, its opening words are repeated as such. An asterisk is added to the additional “title,” and it is not translated.

We have limited our collation to the aforementioned printed version as edited by Gilbert Tournoy (**d**). In the *apparatus criticus* double square brackets indicate that a word was deleted by the scribe of the manuscript (**ms**). The poems in the Berlin manuscript are anonymous, apart from two poems by the same author, Jacobus Meyerus. Whenever the name can be reconstructed with the help of the printed version, we do not repeat the biographical information, since it can be found in Tournoy’s article. When a poem occurs in both Tournoy’s printed version and in the Berlin manuscript, we do not repeat his philological and metrical remarks, or the references to classical sources.<sup>14</sup>

### *Texts and Translations*

#### 1. **Ne lachryma, ne velle comam ne pectora tunde**

(Joannes Schynck — elegiac distichs)

**d** = Tournoy, p. 171, no. 11

Ne lachryma, ne velle comam, ne pectora tunde;  
nulla meos cineres praefica sollicitet.

Mutavi vitam vita potiore periclis  
ereptus, tristis qualia mundus habet.

Si quid adhuc vivi superest tibi nominis ardor,  
ingenii restant plurima signa mei.

Haec te solentur, sint haec commercia: dices  
in vivis Vivem semper adesse tibi.

**2** meos cineres praefica sollicitet : premat cineres praefica dira meos

**d** **3** periclis : malorum **d** **4** subductus turbis. Quid teris hunc  
tumulum // molirisque adeo frustra perrumpere leges, // quas mihi  
fatales imposuere Deae? **d** **5–6** Si quis amor superest vivi tibi pectoris,  
extant // Ingenii passim tot monimenta mei **d**

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<sup>14</sup> The authors are indebted to Dirk Sacré (KU Leuven) for making useful suggestions to solve some paleographical problems or to interpret some puzzling verses. They are also grateful to the editors of this book for polishing their English, in particular the translations of the poems.



5 quid] The manuscript has undoubtedly *quid*, which although unusual, is possible. Of course, the scribe may have made a mistake and read *quid* instead of *quis*.

Let flow no tears, do not pull your hair nor beat your breast;  
let no wailing woman disturb my ashes' rest.  
I have exchanged my life for a better one, free  
from the hazards common to this vale of tears.  
If some love for Vives's name is still sparkling within you,  
the traces left by my mind will be countless. May these  
be a comfort to you, a way of keeping in touch, and you will say  
that Vives will always be among the living with you.

2. **Cum tuus Aonidum caelo demissus in hortos**

(Antonius Schonhovius — elegiac distichs)

**d** = Tournoy, p. 168, no. 5

Cum tuus Aonidum caelo demissus in hortos  
venisset genius fonte sacrandus equi,  
constupere deae patremque remittere plectron  
hortatae fatum iudiciumque petunt.  
“Vives,” Phoebus ait, “Ludovice,” neque ille fefellit,  
nam dedit ut vivas nunc quoque post obitum.

1 demissus : dimissus **d**

3 patremque] Apparently, the poet made a mistake in considering Apollo, the usual companion and leader of the Muses, as their father. Traditionally, the Muses are said to be the daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne.

When your Genius was sent from heaven to the garden of the Muses  
to be hallowed by the spring of Pegasus, the goddesses  
were astonished and urging their father to release his plectron,  
asked for his judgement and the fate of Vives.  
“You will live, Ludovicus,” Phoebus said, without disappointing,  
for he granted you to be still alive now, even after your death.

### 3. **Mors et Vita**

(Stephanus Comes — elegiac distichs)

**d** = Tournoy, p. 166, no. 3

<Mors:> Quae te, Vita, potest tetigisse philautia tanta  
ut quae nunc vivunt non peritura putes?

**f. 2v** Scisne quod omnivorax mihi falx est, gnara secandi  
et quae sub collo demetit omne satum?  
Dic: ubi Zeno, Plato est; ubi Tullius ore deserto,  
Flaccus, Naso, Maro et doctus Homerus agunt?  
Hos ego nec Sophiam curans nec carminis oestrum  
aut fluidam linguam demetere ausa fui.  
Ausimne ergo tuos, Morum Vivemque et Erasmum,  
aut falci aut nostro subiicere imperio?  
Hunc senio rapui, febri istum, illum ense Britanno.  
Mille mihi species mortis et interitus.

*Vita:* Non est cur tumeas, si tu discusseris, o Mors:  
ius in corpus habes, vita perire nequit.  
Vita, inquam, vitae in caelis, famae quoque vita  
in terris; sic post te utraque vita manet.  
Vivet perpetuo Vives, Morusque et Erasmus:  
hic socii terras, nunc socii astra premunt.

**3–4** Scisne mihi dextra falcem gestarier, omne // quod tetigit hoc  
caelum, quae metit omnivorax **d** **7** nec carminis: aut carminis **d**  
**10** falce resecatos eripuisse tibi? **d** **12** mortis: casus **d** **13** tumeas:  
timeas **d** tu : te **d** **18** premunt: tenent **d**

### **Death and Life**

<Death:> Which complacency, Life, has come over you  
to believe that what is now alive will never die?  
You know that I have an all-devouring scythe, eager to cut  
and reap all that is sown below its neck.  
Tell me: where are Zeno and Plato, where eloquent Cicero;  
where can Horace, Ovid, Virgil, and learned Homer be found?

All of them I dared to mow away without a second thought  
of their wisdom, their compelling verse, or their fluent tongue.  
Hence why shouldn't your More, your Vives, and Erasmus  
be subjected to my scythe or power? Erasmus I carried away  
by old age, Vives by a fever, and More by an English sword.  
For I bring death and destruction in thousands of ways.

Life: There is no reason to inflate yourself, Death, about what you destroy:  
you can claim the body, but life can never perish.  
The life, I mean, as of living in heaven, and also the life  
of fame on earth; thus both ways of life continue after you came.  
Vives, and More, and Erasmus will live forever:  
companions here on earth, they tread companionably now among the  
stars.

4. **Sophia Ioanni Vivi**  
(Stephanus Comes — elegiac distichs)

**d** = Tournoy, p. 166, no. 2

Ergone iam violas cogor frondesque cupressi  
    praepropere busto inspergere maesta tuo?  
Ergone, Ioannes, te perpetuus sopor urget?  
    Quid sola hic vigilo? Par mihi, Somne, veni.  
Decanta tristes elegos nunc, tristis Apollo,  
f. 3r   nam gaudere magis non sinit ipse dolor.  
Si lugere fides prohibet me, quisquis amas, dic:  
    "Perpetuum, Vives, salve itidemque vale."  
Debebas annos totidem numerare sinistra  
    quot dextra; at curant nil fera fata sophos.  
Quando igitur mihi non licuit te corpore vivum  
    servare, efficiam nomine vivus eris.

**10** nil: corrected for the sake of metre from *nihil* **ms**, nil **d**   **12** vivus:  
Vives **d**

**9–10** Debebas ... dextra] An enigmatic sentence. *Sinistra* and *dextra*  
must be ablatives, hence, following a suggestion of Dirk Sacré, we

interpret the meaning as a statement that Vives deserved to live until the age of 88, instead of having to die when he was hardly 48 years old.

### **Wisdom to Joannes Vives**

So, in my grief, am I now obliged to scatter prematurely  
violets and boughs of cypresses on your tomb?  
So, Joannes, is eternal sleep besetting you?  
Why am I, alone, awake here? Come, Sleep, and be with me.  
Sing your grieving songs now, grieving Apollo,  
for sorrow itself does not allow you to rejoice anymore.  
If faith forbids me to mourn, you whoever love him, say:  
“God bless, Vives, and farewell for eternity.”  
You should have counted as many years on the left  
as on the right. Alas! Cruel Fate could not care less for wise men.  
But since I can no longer keep your body alive,  
I will ensure that you will live through your name.

### **5. Ludovicus Vives ad poetastros**

(Anonymous — choliambi<sup>15</sup>)

Not in d

Quousque tandem, ineptuli poetastri,  
atram movere pennulam nimis prompti,  
mortem meam lugere pergitis? Vah, quas  
audire nugas atque nenias cogor  
tricasque et apinas, caricas, meae Musae!  
Hinc si mihi non detur aufugere, claudio  
aures, ocellos, os, poeta dum verus  
me lugeat. Vos hinc abite, quo digni  
estis. Cuculli sunt schedulae vestrae.  
Sin tollitis, mihi secunda mors venit.

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<sup>15</sup> Choliambics are also called limping iambs because the penultimate syllable has to be long instead of short, as is the case in ordinary iambic verses.

1 Quousque tandem] Cf. Cicero *In Catilinam* 1.1.

1 ineptuli] Diminutive of *ineptus*, not in classical Latin, but cf. Hoven-Grailet, *Lexique de la prose latine de la Renaissance*, 279.

1 poetastri] Neologism, cf. Hoven-Grailet, *Lexique de la prose latine de la Renaissance*, 146, with a reference to Vives, *Early Writings*, vol. 1, 89.

5 tricasque et apinas] Cf. Martial 14.1.7: *Sunt apinae tricaeque et si quid vilis istis*. According to Pliny *Hist. nat.* 3.11.16, § 104, both Trica and Apina were poor townlets of scant importance in Apulia. Hence their name became a metonymy for “trifles, worthless things.” *Carica*, a kind of dry fig, has become here a practical example of something utterly cheap, Martial’s *si quid vilis istis*.

7 Vos ... abite] After Catullus 14a.21: *Vos hinc interea valet abite*.

9 Cuculli ... vestrae] After Martial 3.2.5 (addressed to a *libellus*, a little book): *vel turis piperisve sis cucullus*. A conical wrapper, a cowl, here to be used as a hat.

### Ludovicus Vives to Verse mongers

How long then, impertinent verse mongers,  
all busily wielding your virulent little pens,  
do you keep wailing my death? Alas!  
Which pitiful songs am I forced to hear,  
trifles and poor stuff, not worth a penny, my dear Muses?  
If I am not allowed to flee from here, I close  
my ears, and eyes, and mouth, until a true poet  
mourns me. And you, off with you to where you belong.  
Turn your scraps of paper into paper hats.  
Unless you take them away, a second death has come to me.

### 6. Vives hic recubat mortali corpore liber

(Anonymous — elegiac distichs)

Not in d

Vives hic recubat mortali corpore liber,  
spiritus excessa sede perennis erit.  
Dignus et ille quidem longaevum vincere saeculis

Nestora fatali non adeunte die.

- f. 3v** Sed podagra tristis necnon recidiva malorum  
congeries lucis taedia summa vehunt.  
Qui famam terris nulla comitante reliquit  
invidia, extinctum nunc brevis urna tegit.  
Cur igitur Vivem ploramus in aethera raptum?  
Evasit vitae noxia multa malae.

**10** evasit: corrected from *qua sit* in **ms**

Vives is lying here, free of his mortal body,  
but his soul, having left this dwelling, will live eternally.  
He too was worthy to surpass in years  
long-living Nestor, postponing the fatal day.  
But a miserable gout and also a recurring  
mass of distress caused an utter aversion of life.  
Leaving his fame, unspoiled by envy, on earth,  
he is now covered by a small urn.  
Why should we mourn Vives, who is borne into heaven?  
He has escaped the many harms of a miserable life.

- 7. Cuius scire cupis tegat cadaver**  
(Guilielmus Hertzius — hendecasyllables)

**d** = Tournoy, p. 172, no. 13

Cuius scire cupis tegat cadaver  
saxum hoc? Siste gradum tuum parumper  
donec legeris haec. Habet sepulchrum hoc  
Vivem illum gremio suo repostum,  
virtutum specimen decusque summum  
omnis religionis et sacratae  
cultorem literae, cui manu ampla  
sacrae munera contulere Musae  
ut sit primus in eruditione  
et summo eloquio, vir acris omni  
in re iudicii sagaxque totus,

verax, candidus, integerque totus.  
 Hunc lustris prope iam decem peractis  
 Mors febri rapuit, podagra saeva  
 octo quem tenuit prius per annos,  
 Sed nunc perpetua quiete gaudet  
**f. 4r** quam sanctus Deus omnibus paravit.

**12** verax ... totus : *omisit* **d**     **17** sanctus : sanctis **d**

You want to know whose body is covered  
 by this stone? Check your step for a while  
 until you have read these words. This grave  
 is holding the great Vives in its womb,  
 that marvel of virtue and greatest ornament  
 of everything religious and tutor  
 of sacred letters. The holy Muses bestowed  
 their gifts on him with such lavish hand  
 that he was foremost in learning  
 and exalted eloquence, a man of keen perception  
 and sharp judgement on every subject,  
 wholly honest, sincere, and virtuous.  
 He was almost fifty when death snatched him away  
 with a fever and a cruel gout, which held him  
 as its victim for eight years already.  
 But now he is enjoying the eternal rest  
 which the holy God has prepared for each of us.

**8. De Vive hendecasillabi per Meyerum**  
 (Jacobus Meyerus — hendecasyllables)

**d** = Tournoy, p. 167, no. 4

Fletum sistite Pallados clientes,  
 quotquot funebribus sacris adestis.  
 Vives, Hesperiae decus supremæ,  
 Vives, gloria prima literarum,  
 Vives, et sacer et pius poeta,

Vives, rhetorices honos palestra,  
 Vives, Romuleae medulla linguae,  
 Vives, eloquii melos Pelasgi,  
 Vives, regula paginae sacratae,  
 Vives, lux sapientiae et lucerna,  
 Vives, flos pietatis, ordo vitae,  
 Vives, religionis expolitor,  
 Vives, vivere tempus omne dignus,  
 Vives mortuus haud potest putari,  
 Vives cum Domino suo migravit,  
 Vives cum Domino Deo revixit,  
 Vives cum Domino polos subivit  
 scandenti Domino die celebri  
 quem sextum sibi Maius asserebat  
 quando saecula sex novemque Christus

**f. 4v** et clausit sibi lustra bis quaterna.

Vives vivit in eruditione,  
 Vives per pia cuncta vivit ora,  
 Vives cum Domino Deo triumphat,  
 Vives saecula sempiterna vivit.

**10** sapientiae: sapientia **d**    **18** scandenti : scandente **d**    **19** sibi Maius :  
 Maius sibi **d**

**18–21** scandenti ... quaterna] A learned and elaborate paraphrase for the date of Vives's death, which happened on 6 May 1540 old style. *Sex novemque* equals the number of centuries, *lustra bis quaterna* is poetic for *quadraginta*, the number of years in the sixteenth century.

### **Meyer's hendecasyllables on Vives**

Hold your tears, companions of Pallas,  
 all of you, present at this sacred funeral.  
 Vives, the pearl of far-away Spain,  
 Vives, highest glory of letters,  
 Vives, both holy and pious poet,  
 Vives, champion of rhetoric exercise,



Vives, quintessence of Rome's language,  
 Vives, song of Greek elocution,  
 Vives, norm of sacred pages,  
 Vives, bright lamp of wisdom,  
 Vives, blossom of piety and example of a well-ordered life,  
 Vives, refiner of religion,  
 Vives, deserving eternal life,  
 Vives, who could not be imagined as having died,  
 Vives has departed with his Lord,  
 Vives lives again with the Lord God,  
 Vives climbed into heaven with the Lord  
 on the day solemn by our Lord's Ascension  
 which May claimed on its sixth day  
 after Christ had completed  
 fifteen centuries and forty years.  
 Vives still lives in his erudition,  
 Vives lives through the mouths of the pious,  
 Vives triumphs with his Lord God,  
 Vives lives throughout the centuries.

**9. Ut digne Vivem celebres maiore coturno**

(Petrus Vulcanius — elegiac distichs)

**d** = Tournoy, p. 170, no. 10

Ut digne Vivem celebres maiore coturno  
     est opus et Sophoclis vix tuba sufficiat.  
 Ergo abige hinc versus vix dignos pharmacopolis  
     et quos vix blattae rodere sustineant.  
 Sit satis hoc dixisse: cubat ter maximus ille  
     hoc tumulo Vives quod, puto, pondus habet.  
 Nam sic mortales superique hoc nomen honorant  
     ut sit virtutis quod fuit ante viri.

**1–4** Ut digne ... sustineant: *omisit d*    **3** pharmacopolis: corrected from *parma bolis* in **ms**.

**6** pondus] A clever play with the meaning of the word, here used not so much in its usual sense of a heavy weight, but in a metaphoric sense of “something important.”

To praise Vives worthily you need a more tragic style,  
and the trumpet of a Sophocles will hardly suffice.  
So, away with you verses hardly worthy of quacks,  
which bookworms could hardly stomach.  
Let it suffice to have said this: the magnificent Vives  
is lying in this tomb which, I believe, has much gravity.  
For mortals and heavenly creatures are praising his name in such a way  
that what was formerly the name of a man is now a synonym of virtue.

#### 10. **Doctus Iohannes**

(Daniel Spetenbrodus — elegiac distichs)

**d** = Tournoy, p. 169, no. 6;

Doctus Iohannes iacet hic Vives Ludovicus  
nectare perfusus, Calliopea, tuo.  
Quem Suadela suum dulcis conscivit alumnum  
poneque Musarum tota cohors sequitur.  
Nascentem puerum praeclara Valentia vidit;  
defunctum Brugis Donatianus habet.

**4** poneque Musarum tota : totaque Musarum pone **d**

**2** Calliopea] Also Calliope, the eldest of the Muses.

**6** Donatianus] St Donatian’s was Bruges’ collegiate church (see note 1 above).

#### **Learned Iohannes**

Learned Joannes Ludovicus Vives rests here,  
doused with your nectar, Calliopea.  
Sweet Persuasion adopted him as her nursling,  
followed by the whole flock of the Muses.  
Famous Valencia witnessed the child’s birth;  
St. Donatian’s in Bruges holds his mortal remains.

## f. 10r

## 11. Hunccine qui recubat

(Anonymous — elegiac distichs)

Not in d

Hunccine qui recubat gelido hoc sub marmore nescis,  
 qui ora huc atque genas flexa, viator, habes?  
 Ergo, age, praecipitem mihi gressum siste parumper  
 et tibi quod nescis commemorabo lubens.  
 Attamen ante mihi quibus adsis dicito ab oris  
 quem quae sunt cunctis tam manifesta latent.  
 Forsan ab extremis te Gadibus usque profectum,  
 Riphaeisve feris Sarmaticisque iugis?  
 At nostri vaga fama viri superavit et Indos  
 divisum et toto quemlibet orbe locum.  
 Sed ne distineat, ne te mora longius ulla  
 occupet, addiscas nomine reque virum.  
 Hic situs est vivus terris et in aethere Vives,  
 orator, vates omnisciusque sophus.  
 Spiritus Elysiis fragrat immortalis in urnis,  
 inter mortales nescia fama mori.

8 Riphaeis] Pliny the elder and Pomponius Mela mention this ridge as the south border of the land of the Hyperboreans, the border between Europe and Asia.

9 Indos] Vives's works were imported rather early in the Americas.

10 divisum ... locum] After Virgil *Eclogues* 1.66: *et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos*.

14 omniscius] Very rare; the word is not attested in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*; Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, only mentions one occurrence, pseudo-Augustine *Speculum* 16.

You do not know who is lying here under this icy cold marmor,  
 traveller, you who turned your eyes and your face this way?  
 Hence, please, check your hasty step for a while  
 and let me willingly tell you what you don't know.

But first tell me from which land you have come,  
 That what is clear to everyone is still hidden to you.  
 Did you come, perhaps, all the way from far remote Cadiz  
 or from the wild Scythian of Sarmatian ridges?  
 Still, the roving fame of our man even conquered the Indies  
 and any other place you please across the wide world.  
 But to ensure that no delay will detain or keep you any longer,  
 learn the name of this man and what he did.  
 Here lies Vives, living on earth and in heaven,  
 orator, poet, and omniscient sage.  
 His immortal soul gives a sweet smell in the Elysian urns,  
 among mankind his fame does not know how to die.

## 12. Χριστοῦ ἀνελθόντος

(Anonymous — elegiac distichs).

Not in **d**

Χριστοῦ ἀνελθόντος ποδάγρα θανατώμενος ὡμῇ  
 Καὶ πυρετῷ †ἀλλὰ ψυχῇ† ζωὸς ἀνῆλθε Βίβης.  
 Πολλ' ἔλιπ' ἀνθρώποις καὶ δ' ἄμβροτα μνήμαθ', ὁ τοῖσδε  
 καὶ φήμη συζῶν ἀμβρόσιός τε πνέων.

**1** Χριστοῦ ἀνελθόντος] On the importance of Ascension, cf. no. 8, 18–21.

When Christ ascended to heaven, Vives, dying from cruel gout and fever, ascended with him, well alive in his soul. Many immortal memories has he left to mankind, whose life he shares through them and through his fame, while breathing the air of never-ending life.

**f. 10v**

## 13. Aeternum Vives animo inter sydera vivet\*

(Anonymous — elegiac distichs)

Not in **d**

Aeternum Vives animo inter sydera vivet,  
 aeterna in vivis gloria Vivis erit.  
 Ambrosiae succus cum divum nectare Vivi  
 obtigit et Vivem saecula cuncta colent.  
 Sanctificate Deo, o fortunatissime Vives,  
 vive, sibi terrae; vive sibi astra placent.

3 ambrosiae succus] Cf. Plautus *Captivi* 13; Virgil *Aeneis* 12.419.

Vives's soul will live for ever amidst the stars,  
 Vives's fame among the living will be eternal.  
 Ambrosian juice and the nectar of the gods has fallen  
 to Vives's share and every age will honour his name.  
 O most fortunate Vives, praised by the Lord,  
 live on, live on: the earth and the stars rejoice in you.

14. **In quendam ineptum qui inter epitaphia quae sine nomine affixa erant quoddam se h[abe]re mentiebatur**  
 (Anonymous — hendecasyllables)

Not in **d**

Sunt qui tam bene Apollini litarunt  
 ut nullum valeant crepare versum.  
 Qui monstrant tamen inter ista stare  
 quae dicunt sibi carmina esse nata.  
 Sic rodunt aliena grana mures,  
 sic pascunt aliena mella fuci,  
 sic fures aliena scripta vendunt,  
 sic fiunt plagiarum poetae.

**Against a fool who kept lying that he had some of his verses among the epitaphs, which were anonymously affixed [to the tomb]**

Some have made offerings to Apollo with such success,  
 that they cannot even bray a single verse.  
 Nevertheless, they pride themselves on having poems

on this tomb of which they claim the authorship.  
 They are mice, nibbling at someone else's grain;  
 drones, feeding on someone else's honey;  
 thieves, selling someone else's writings,  
 and thus they become plagiarizing poets.

### 15. **De Vive per Meijerum**

(Jacobus Meyerus — elegiac distichs)

Not in **d**

Vives Hesperiae decus et laus inclyta terrae  
 atque Valentinae gloria gentis erat.  
 Non tamen invidiam Lachesis superare valebat  
 nec fugere indomitae tela cruenta necis.  
 Vives doctorum fuit unica gemma virorum;  
 attamen infestis vermibus esca iacet.  
 Maximus orator Vives rhetorque disertus,  
 spicula sed mortis flectere saeva nequit.  
 Atticus eloquium laudavit, Roma leporem;  
 sola odit dulces trux Libitina sales.

**f. 11r** Quem chorus Aonidum colit et veneratur Apollo,  
 sola Herebi lacerat filia dira virum.

Nobilitat Vivem divini pagina verbi,  
 sed nihili dotes impia Parca putat.  
 Quid iuvat, o truculenta, viris non parcere sanctis;  
 quid praesigne iuvat sic temerasse caput?  
 Invidia rumpare licet Mors pessima; vivus  
 noster erit Vives hic et in arce poli.  
 An sepelisse putas totum tu, livida, Vivem?  
 Pars potior clari scandit ad astra poli;  
 Haud delere potes famae monumenta perennis;  
 iuris in haec nihilum filia Noctis habet.  
 O quantum libuit ridere Herebeida nigram,  
 vidi ego cum caeli templa subire virum.  
 Sexta dies Maii verno speciosa decore  
 Vivem cum domino ad caelica regna tulit!

Vidi ego scandentem cum Chr[ist]o sydera celsa.

O quam dulce melos tunc cecinere poli  
sex et saecula novem cum lustris octo replebat.

Tum Christus vicit; io! fera monstra Stygos!  
Nil praeter corpus, Mors, vincere lurida nosti;  
corpora cum surgent, tu superata cades  
teque triumphantem Chr[ist]i victoria tollet.  
Nil ergo in Vivem, Noctias atra, potes.

**15** non: corrected from *me* in **ms**      **19** livida: corrected from  
*livide* in **ms**

**3** Lachesis] One of the three Parcae, the goddesses of fate, whose Greek names are Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos.

**10** Libitina] The goddess of corpses and funerals.

**12** Herebi filia] According to Greek mythology, Death is the daughter of Erebus and his sister Nyx (Night).

**15** non] The verse makes no sense with *me*, as it occurs in the manuscript. Hence it is corrected to *non*, presuming an error by the scribe.

**19** livida] One could, of course, keep the masculine vocative *livide*, and link it to Erebus in line 12, but the whole context of gods is female (Lachesis, Libitina, Nox, Parca, Mors).

**20** Pars ... poli] After Horace *Carmina* 3.30.6 and 9: *multaque pars mei* [...] *scandet*. See also line 27.

**21** monumenta perennis] After Horace *Carmina* 3.30.1: *Exegi monumentum aere perennius*.

**22** filia Noctis] Death, cf. line 12.

**23** Herebeida] Neologism, patronymicon, following the model of, e.g., *Erechthis*, *-idis*, daughter of Erechtheus (Ovid *Metamorphoses* 7.726, about Procris) referring to Death: the daughter of (H)Erebus.

**25** Sexta ... Maii] That is the day of Vives's death, corresponding to Ascension Day that year, cf. poem 8, line 19.

**27** scandentem ... celsa] After Horace *Carmina* 3.30.8–9.

**29** sex ... replebat] A learned paraphrase of 1540, the year of his death, cf. poem 8, line 20.

**30** io] This interjection must be read as a single, long syllable after the caesura, following the example of Martial.

**30** Stygos] The Greek genitive form is used instead of the Latin *Stygis*.

**34** Noctias] Another neologism, patronymicon for Death, now built on her mother's name, Nox.

### **Meyerus on Vives**

Vives was the pearl and acclaimed toast of Spain,  
 the glory of the people of Valencia,  
 yet he could not overcome envious Lachesis  
 Nor escape the cruel bolts of untamable death.  
 Vives was a unique gem among learned men,  
 yet he lies dead, the food for ruthless worms.  
 Vives was a mighty speaker and fluent orator,  
 but he could not evade the dire darts of death.  
 Athens praised his eloquence and Rome his wit;  
 only grim Libitina hated his sweet shrewdness.  
 He was revered by the Muses and venerated by Apollo;  
 only Erebus's fierce daughter destroyed the man.  
 The pages of the divine word made Vives famous,  
 But irreverent Parca set no store by his gifts.  
 What difference makes it, stern goddess, to have no mercy on holy men?  
 what difference to have brought such disgrace to a distinguished man?  
 May evil death be consumed by envy; our dear Vives  
 will live forever, here and in heaven.  
 Do you really believe, spiteful death, to have buried Vives entirely?  
 The better part of him mounts to the dazzling stars in heaven;  
 you cannot destroy the monuments of his everlasting fame.  
 The daughter of Night has no right whatsoever here.  
 O, how much I laughed at the black daughter of Erebus,  
 upon seeing the great man mounting to the temples of heaven.  
 The sixth of May, radiant with its spring colours,  
 bore Vives as the Lord's companion to the realms in the skies.  
 I saw the great man ascending with Christ towards the lofty stars.  
 How sweet a song the heavenly then did sing:  
 he had fulfilled fifteen centuries and forty years.  
 Then Christ conquered; hurrah, fierce monsters of the Styx!  
 Pale death, you can only prevail over the body;



but when the bodies arise, you'll fall, overcome,  
and the victory of Christ will abolish your triumph.  
Hence you have no power, black daughter of Night, over Vives.

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